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RELIGION AND RACE.

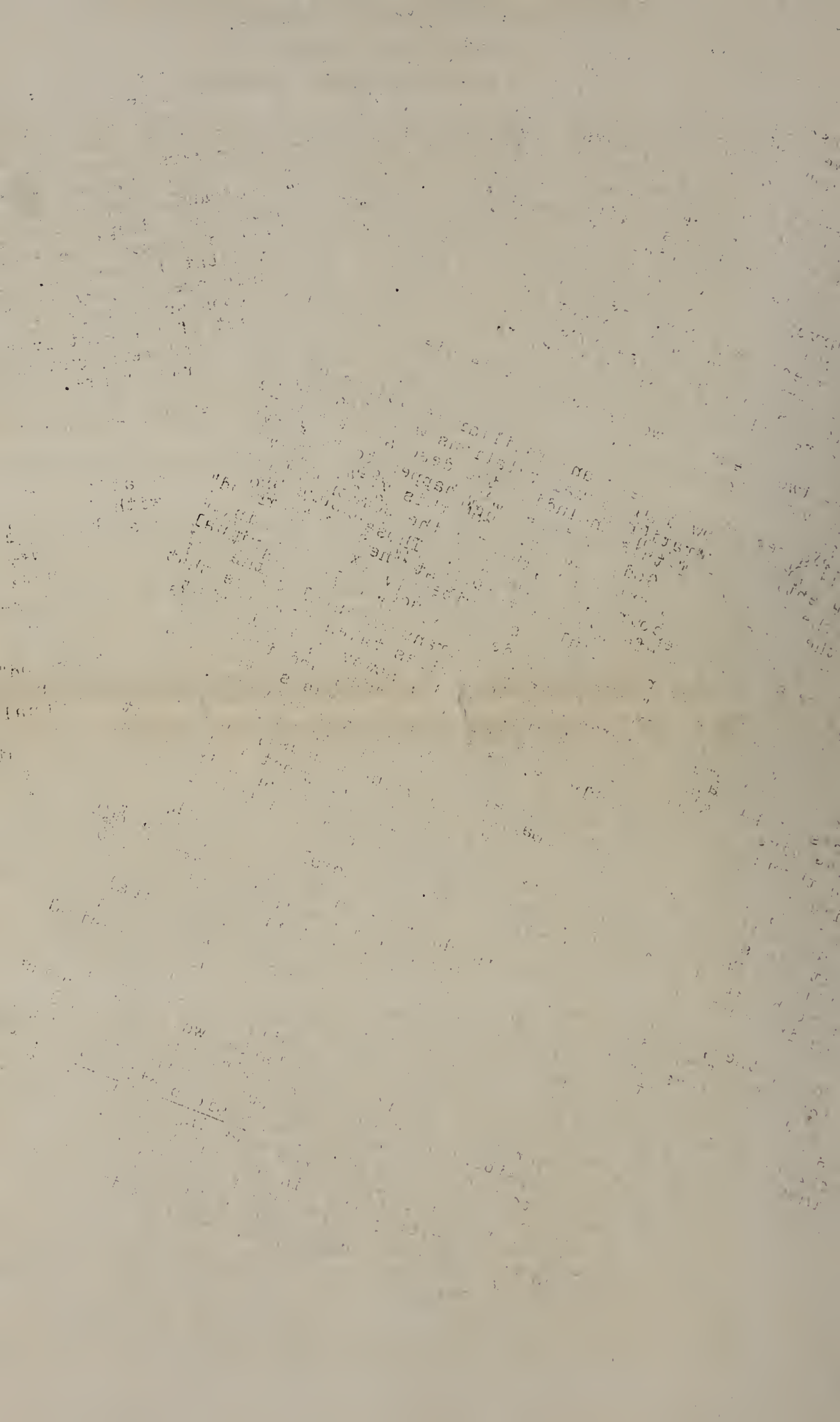
by Professor Arnold Toynbee.

By Race we mean physical kinship, and in the case of Man, who is a creature with a spiritual as well as a physical side to his nature, it is evident that this phenomenon of physical kinship will have certain moral and metaphysical implications. This proposition would perhaps be accepted by all parties to the controversy about Race, in its relation to Man, which is being fought out in our Western world, to-day; and since the issues at stake are profoundly important and the feelings aroused by the struggle are correspondingly deep, it is something gained if we can find at least one piece of common ground as a point of departure for a survey of this hotly debated question. At the same time, we cannot build very much on this preliminary common ground; for it does not extend very far. As soon as we begin to explore it, we see that the very source and subject of the controversy is a difference of opinion as to what these moral and metaphysical implications of Race, in relation to Human Nature, really are.

Broadly, there are two views - two irreconcilable views - which are in conflict in our world in our time.

One of these views regards the near and familiar relations of physical kinship as symbols of our spiritual relations with God and, through God, with all our fellow men, including the dead and the unborn as well as the entire generation of those who happen to be alive at this moment on the surface of this planet. On this view, all we human beings are the children of God; and, through the common fathergood of God, we are all brethren one with another. Those of us who hold this belief would not, of course, maintain that the nature and content of the relations here referred to symbolically as "fatherhood" and "sonhood" and "brotherhood" are fully described or explained in these terms. It would indeedbe strange if a transcendental spiritual relationcould be completely comprehended in similes taken from the palpable facts of physical life on Earth. We do, however, believe that these similes give us a genuine insight into the truth, and that what we thus see through a glass darkly is, as far as it reveals itself, a faithful image of the ultimate reality that informs the universe. More than that, we believe that this partial vision, which has been given to us in this world, is of inestimable value because, in our belief, it gives us the chance of making what we are meant to make out of our life on Earth - a chapter in the history of a human being which is seen to be all the more momentous when it is realised that it is only one incident or aspect of his career.

This, then, is one of the views about the moral and metaphysical implications of physical kinship or Race, in its relation to Man, to which human beings have been led; and the characteristic feature of this view is that it brings us a vast enlargement of our spiritual horizon. Through our physical kinship with our parents we catch a glimpse of our spiritual relation with God; and through our physical kinship with our brothers and sisters, who are the children of the same human parents, we catch a glimpse of our spiritual relation, through God, with all other human beings - a relation which transcends the obvious physical impossibility of our ever coming into personal contact on this Earth with more than a handful out of this innumerable multitude of our human spiritual kinsmen. This visio beatifice is, for those who have caught sight of it, the deepest meaning of the facts of physical kinship as we experience them in our daily life. It is not, however, the only meaning that can be, or that has been, read into these facts. If it were so, the controversy in which we find ourselves engaged today could hardly have arisan. But, as it happens, the

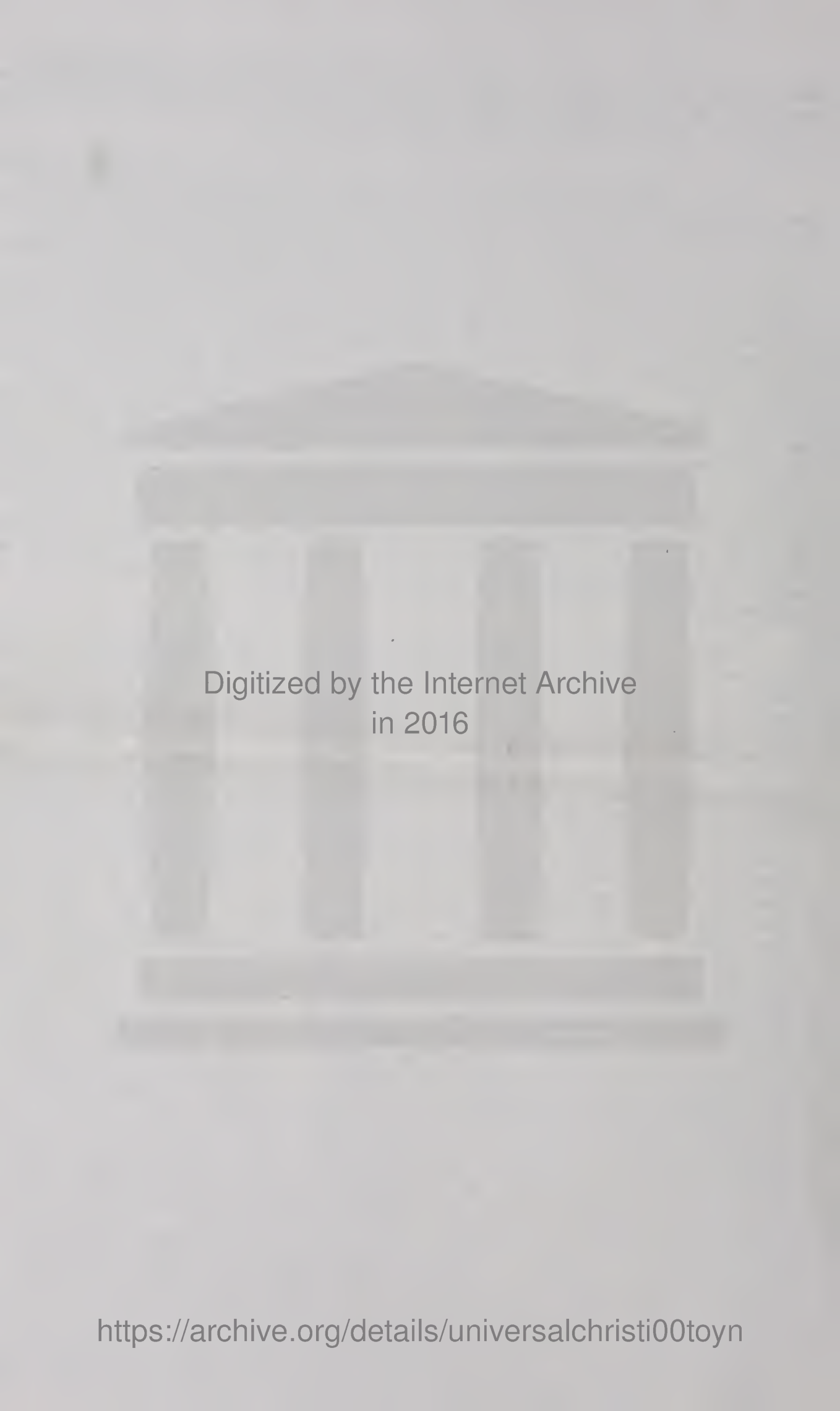


same facts can be interpretedin another way which is diametrically opposite to that which we have just set forth; and the characteristic feature of this opposing view is that it narrows, instead of enlarging, the spiritual horizon of those who hold it.

It is, indeed, easy to see that the relation of physical kinship can be taken to have a negative as well as a positive significance. The transcendental view, which we have attempted very briefly to describe above, dwells upon the positive intimacy and positive moral beauty of the links that unite the several members of a human family; and, on this showing, we apprehend that the whole universe is a society of persons - a divine Creator and His human creatures - who are united by a love of which mother-love gives us an inkling. In looking, however, at the life of a human family, a human observer may also be struck by the fact that those moral links which unite parents with children and brethren with brethren are jealousy exclusive. Indeed, he may point out that, in describing these family relations as "intimate", and ascribing to them a peculiar moral beauty, we ourselves have been implicitly contrasting them with the ordinary relations between human beings outside the family fold. Our observer may even go on to argue that our family relations, in which a physical kinship has been reinforced by a moral bond, could hardly subsist if they were not permanently and inevitably set in a social environment of non-moral,- or, at any rate, less moral,- relations with an outer world of strangers with whom the members of the family are not united by ties of blood.

How, it might be asked, could there be any opportunity for showing family love, by exercising the virtue of self-sacrifice in the cause of family solidarity, if the family were co-extensive with the whole of Mankind ? Has it not been the primitive duty of the father of a family to defend his wife and children against attacks from outsiders ? And does he not still have to perform the same duty, in effect, even in a more sophisticated and more orderly society, like our Western Society in the present age, in which physical defence by force of arms has given place to the equivalent activity of wresting a family livelihood from one's neighbour through economic competition? And has even the duty of literal physical defence actually become obsolete in a world where the man who is no longer called upon to fight for his personal family may still be called upon to lay down his life in war for the group-family which we call the community or the state ? Is not strife as characteristic as harmony, and hatred as characteristic as love, of those facts of physical kinship that are comprehended in the word Race ? The man who is faithfully performing his own family or racial duty of defending his kinsfolk and winning them their livelihood is, surely, in that very act, attacking someone else's community and attempting to take its livelihood away. A moral relation with one set of people implies a non-moral or even an immoral attitude towards all others. And this "law of Nature",which is apparent even in human life, becomes glaringly evident when we extend our survey to the rest of the animal world. The impulse to provide for their young is the incentive that drives all the non-human beasts and birds of prey to commit their unspeakable atrocities upon their victims; and what warrant have we for believing that the nature of the universe is not revealed in this struggle for existence that rages outside the narrow limits of the family, at least as truly as it may be revealed in the rule of love that reigns within the charmed family circle ? Just as "Man goeth forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening", so "theyoung lions roar after their prey and seek their meat from god".* This lion's god, if a lion were mentally capable of forming a conscious idea of him, would be a leonine being who presided beneficently over the lion's den by making himself a terror to the horned and hoofed god Pan of the herd of antelopes. On this showing, the truth about theology would have to be

*Psalm civ,verses 23 and 24.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expressed by making an exact inversion of the famous affirmation of the Prophet Mahommed. Instead of proclaiming that "there is no god but God", we should have to confess that "there is no God but a host of gods": one god of the lion's den, another god of the antelope-herd; one god of the Israelites, another god of the Canaanites; one god of the Germans, another god of the French.

It will be seen that this view of the moral and metaphysical implications of the familiar facts of Physical Race really is an inference from the same premises as the diametrically opposite view which has been described at the beginning of this essay, and in which we ourselves believe. The antithesis between the two views is both extreme and manifold. It is the difference between a polytheistic and a monotheistic religion; between a tribal and a transcendental conception of the Godhead; between a belief that the ultimate law of the universe is hatred and strife and a belief that its ultimate law is love and harmony; between a system of morals which compels us to consider the majority of our fellow human beings as our natural and irreconcilable and mortal enemies because they happen to trace back their tribal genealogies to other divine progenitors than ours, and a system which invites us to regard them all as our brethren in virtue of the common fatherhood of the One God Who has created the universe and Who loves His creatures who are also His children. The tribal interpretation of the facts of Race brings the Godhead down to Earth and divides its unity into a many-headed and many-armed multiplicity, in order to imprison it within the tribal zareeba and degrade it into being merely the most august member of a heterogeneous community in which this tribal god has for his fellow-tribesmen the elders and the warriors and the women and the children and the cattle and the poultry. The transcendental interpretation of the same facts lifts human souls out of their earthly tribal prison-house in order to bring them into communion with a God Who draws all men after Him because Hs is their Creator and Father and Redeemer.

These are the two religions that are contending with one another for the souls of men in our world in our day; and this spiritual warfare is the great event of the age - an event that is far more momentous for our future than any of the economic affairs that have lately been the chief preoccupation of so many minds. It is also worth noting that this religious conflict is a very recent event, and that it is unlikely to last very long. The conflict is recent because it takes two to make a quarrel, and it is only recently that both these rival religions have coexisted among the human inhabitants of this Earth; and the struggle is not likely to last long because it is impossible for both religions to reign permanently side by side in the same soul, or for souls that have given their whole-hearted allegiance to one of the two religions to live permanently in the same society with other souls that have chosen whole-heartedly to serve the other religion. This is a sphere in which it is eminently true that "no man can serve two masters", and that "either he will hate the one and love the other or else he will hold to the one and despise the other." *

It is true that, as often happens when human beings are confronted with a painful choice, a compromise that is manifestly untenable has been obstinately attempted. In our modern Western World, it is a well-known satirical commonplace that the local rulers and peoples have "given away" the fact that they are really still worshipping their respective tribal gods under the guise of the One God and Father of all men in their habit of ordering the Te Deum to be sung in celebration of their fratricidal victories in their civil wars with their fellow-Christians. The satirist's stricture is well deserved; yet, in passing it, the satirist seldom points out theequally relevant truth that this abuse is neither very ancient nor altogether unpardonable nor likely to persist. It is unlikely to persist by reason of the intrinsic in-

* Matt,vi,24.

compatibility, to which we have already called attention, between two rival religions which modern Man is vainly trying to combine. This futile effort is not altogether unpardonable, because it is natural for human beings, when confronted with a dilemma, to seek a way out through compromise unless and until they are convinced, by a hard and conclusive experience, that in this case a compromise is unworkable, and the necessity of making a clean-cut choice cannot be escaped. Finally, this search for a compromise is recent for the obvious reason that one of the two contending religions is a very recent arrival on this planet and, before its arrival, the other religion had the field to itself and reigned among our forebears uncontested.

This historical difference between the two religions which we are discussing is, indeed, only less remarkable than those intrinsic contrasts between them which we have examined already. The tribal religion is, of course, the older - in mundane history - of the two. On the time-scale of the span of the existence of the Genus Homo on the surface of this planet up to date, the difference in age between the two religions is indeed extreme. So far as we know, the Genus Homo has been in existence already for at least several hundred thousand years; and, as far back as we have any knowledge of Man's spiritual history, the tribal religion has been the normal religion of the parochial communities into which Mankind has hitherto been divided.* The transcendental religion made its first appearance less than three thousand years ago; and here we can speak with more confidence than when we are estimating the age of the tribal religion; for the whole history of the transcendental religion - its history, that is to say, among Mankind on Earth - falls within the latest age of human history which is illuminated by written records. If we may equate the emergences of that recently-begotten species of human society which we call "Civilisation", we may say that the first representatives of the species - the earliest recorded "civilisations" - made their appearance in the 4th millennium B.C., while there are no certain evidences earlier than the 1st millennium B.C. of the presence on earth of any manifestation of the transcendental species of religion.

In the Christian belief, the full revelation of the brotherhood of Mankind through the Fatherhood of God was given less than two thousand years ago in the Incarnation; and even when we take into account, as we ought, all the unmistakable premonitions of the Christian revelation and approximations to it, we shall not find that we have carried the date of the first emergence of the transcendental religion appreciably further back. Approximations to the Christian revelation will be recognised by an increasing number of Christians nowadays in the other "higher religions" (Islam, Zoroastrianism, Orphism, and the esoteric version of Hinduism and Taoism) as well as in certain moral philosophies (the Confucian, the Buddhist, the Socratic, the Stoic, the Neoplatonic, and perhaps even the genuine Epicurean); and it is part and parcel of the traditional Christian belief that Christianity has had its forerunner in Judaism. Yet none of the approximations to Christianity seems to date back earlier than the 6th century B.C., and even the Jewish prelude to Christianity can hardly be traced back beyond the 9th century B.C., if we are right in thinking that the transmutation of the primitive tribal religion into the late-revealed transcendental religion has only been achieved completely

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* This statement would perhaps be contested by the Viennese student of primitive religion, Father Schmidt. This distinguished scholar has drawn attention to the traces, in a number of tribal worships, of a belief in a single, or at any rate a supreme, Father God. In many instances, this belief seems to be quite distinct from, and even at variance with, the community-cult in which it is found embedded. Apparently Father Schmidt has found a sufficient number of examples of this phenomenon to embolden him to hasard the inference that we are here in the presence of vestiges of a higher religion dating from some earlier phase of human history. If this inference is correct, then the idolatrous worship of the tribe is to be regarded, not as the original religion of Mankind, but as an aberration from an original apprehension of religious truth.

in the history of a single tribe and that the accomplishment of this unique and miraculous spiritual metamorphosis is recorded in the books of the prophets of Israel and Judah. But the interval of time that separates the generation of Hosea and Amos from our own generation is less than 2800 years; and this is an infinitesimally short period even on the time-scale of the age of the Genus Homo up to date - without taking into account the vastly greater age of sub-human life on this planet, or the age of the planet itself, or the age of the stellar and nebular cosmos of which our young and tiny planet is a part. For practical purposes, we must regard the earliest of the prophets as our older contemporaries; the revelation of the transcendental religion as an event of yesterday; and the conflict in which we are engaged today as part of the same battle in which Zarathustra and Socrates have fought, and in which the supreme event has been the Crucifixion.

As we know from our own experience here and now, the battle is still going on, and the signs of the times seem to portend that at this very moment we are on the point of entering upon a bout which may be the fiercest and the most critical of any that have marked the battle's chequered course since the hour when the Christian Church encountered and overcame the state religion of the Roman Empire. We may well believe that the outcome of this battle is going to be decisive for the earthly destinies of Mankind; and if the tribal religion were ultimately to prevail over the transcendental religion in the hearts of human beings whose hands and brains have obtained the mastery over Physical Nature that has fallen to ourselves and our recent ancestors, then the prospects of Mankind on Earth would be tragic. For this power over Physical Nature which our faculties for social organisation and for the practical application of scientific discoveries have placed in our hands is a morally [illegible] force. It is like some inhuman jinn which blindly obeys the will of the human soul that holds the talisman; and this "slave of the lamp" of knowledge will perform mighty works of evil as readily and efficiently as mighty works of good. The one certain and unescapable consequence that flows from the acquisition of this power is that an unprecedentedly forceful material "drive" is now thrown into all our human actions, good and evil, wise and foolish.

We thus now find ourselves in a position in which we can no longer afford to commit the follies and wickednesses in which our mercifully ill-equipped ancestors were able, through long ages past, to indulge with impunity. When Man was still unarmed, the hideous moral deformities of the tribal religion - the heartlessness of the attitude and the ruthlessness of the behaviour towards the stranger beyond the tribal pale which this primitive religion inculcates - were not yet a danger to the existence of the Genus Homo on this planet. The danger began to cast its shadow over human destinies as soon as Civilisation began to place new fangled weapons in our hands; and tribalism, thus armed, would assuredly have succeeded in exterminating us long ago if a higher religious revelation had not appeared on Earth thereafter in order to redeem us. The battle for our souls on which the two religions are still engaged may be conceived in the form of a race. Will tribalism, armed by Science, succeed in exterminating us physically before the revelation of the truth about God and Man has succeeded in converting us and in thereby weaning our souls from the insane craving to misuse our fateful weapons for our own destruction ?

If a scientific observer were asked today to make an actuarial estimate of the Genus Homo's expectation of life, he would probably give a pessimistic forecast. A reference to the geological record which is the naturalist's Carlisle Tables would remind this imaginary caster of Mankind's horoscope of that vast array of subtle and

admirable creatures - genus after genus and species after species - which an exuberantly and pitilessly wasteful Nature has brought forth and nurtured andmoulded, time after time, only, time after time, to kill them off and throw them onto the scrap-heap. Apparently, Nature, if left to her own devices, would have no compunction about allowing Man, after capering for a brief while on this planetary stage, to become extinct like the Ichthyosaurus or the Mastodon. The geological evidence is said to suggest that many of these previous forms of life which eventually did become extinct, after having had promising and even brilliant initial careers, were exterminated wholesale quite suddenly in some catastrophic fashion; and our scientists have conjectured that the instruments of this destruction were germs which were bearers of some deadly disease. On such precedents, we might expect that Man, who is a spiritual as well as a physical creature, might be drivento commit physical suicide by a spiritual aberration. In fact, a scientific observer who pays more attention to the geological record of the last three million million years than to the spiritual history of the last three thousand years, might be forbidden by his scientific conscience to hold out to us any hope at all of survival; and it is perhaps only a Christian who can have the hardihood to believe that a God who has taken our nature upon Himself in order to offer us salvation will be slow to take us at our word if we boast that the offer has been rejected.

This boast is being made openly today in Germany by a small but growing band of "neo-Pagans"; it is being actedon in practice by the larger and more solid phalanx of National Socialists; and what is happening in Germany is not an isolated phenomenon - for we know very well that the Germans are really not at all a peculiar people. Contemporary Germany may rather be likened to a convex mirror, in which the rest of us can behold our own reflexions with just that degree of distortion that brings out our characteristic features. And the recrudescence of paganism, which is so conspicuous in Germany just now is actually one of the characteristic contemporary features of the Western world as a whole. The same revolt against the Western Christian tradition can be discerned not only in Italy but also in France; and it can be detectedin England too, for those who have eyes to see. Indeed, the rebellion is not confined to the Western World Proper but is at least as active in a number of recently westernised countries which have previously received the revelation of the transcendental religion in non-christian forms. In Turkey, for example, we see the idolatrous worship of the tribe re-emerging as a revolt against Islam; and in Japan we see the Shinto religion of the State - an idolatry which is the exact equivalent of the Athenian worship of Athena Polinchus and the Roman worship of Dea Roma - reasserting itself against the Mahayana (a theistic form of Buddhism, with a doctrine of salvation, which has arisen, by an extraordinary metamorphosis, out of the teaching of an Indian philosopher who vehemently denied the existence of the soul and who had no use for God).

It will be seen that the revolt against the recently revealed transcendental religion and the reversion to the primitive tribal religion of Mankind is appearing today in many quarters simultaneously and in a variety of guises; but under all these guises the same pagan gospel is being preached. Men and women are being urged to repudiate their allegiance to the God Who is the Creator of all things and the Father and Redeemer of all Men and to devote themselves instead, with all their heart and all their mind and all their strength, to an idolatrous worship of some particular parochial human community here on Earth - whatever the community maybe to which the apostate Christian or Muslim or Buddhist happens to belong though by accident of birth or domicile.

The intention behind this apostasy is to achieve a return to primitive paganism; but of course this intention is not being, and cannot be, completely fulfilled because it is impossible for human beings who have once received the revelation of a higher religion to undo the accomplished fact that they have been made heirs to this spiritual heritage. To repudiate a heritage is not the same thing as to be unencumbered with it; and the more violent the attempt at repudiation, the deeper the mark which the rejected religion may be expected to leave on the apostate's soul. Hence our latter-day neo-pagans are very far from being in the coveted state of innocence and unsouciance which they attribute to the primitive pagan who has never heard of any higher revelation. The primitive pagan may find it easy to worship his tribe as a matter of course without troubling himself about the moral and metaphysical implications of his idolatry. The latter-day post-Christian or post-Islamic or post-Buddhist neo-pagan cannot relapse automatically, by a mere act of apostasy, into this primitive unselfconsciousness. Before he can begin to feel comfortable and self-assured, he has to fit out the idolatrous worship of the tribe, to which he is laboriously feeling his way back, with a theology and an ethic that can challenge the theology and the ethic of the higher religion which he is deserting. He has to show reason for something that his unsophisticated primitive predecessor took for granted. He has to prove that this particular human tribe or group or community or state or race, which he insists upon worshipping because he happens to belong to it, is preeminent among its kind and, more than that, that it is the fittest of all possible objects of worship, inanimate or human or divine, that exist in the universe. In other words, the neo-pagan who is longing to surrender himself to his race-feeling cannot make the surrender in comfort unless he can contrive to justify this race-feeling by elaborating a plausible race-theory.

This is the explanation of those race-theories which at the present time are current politico-religious coin in Japan and Germany and in the Southern States of the American Union - to mention a few notorious examples of a wide-spread phenomenon. And if the explanation is correct - if, that is to say, these race-theories are not the expression of disinterested scientific thought but are a prostitution of modern thought to ancient emotion - then it is not surprising to find that they are intellectually quite untenable.

As a matter of fact, if we take the trouble to trace these racial theologies of neo-paganism back to their origins, we find that they are most of them imperfect echoes of old-fashioned scientific theories which the genuine scientific students of Race have discarded at least as far back as half-a-century ago.

For example, the two fundamental dogmas of all our twentieth century race-worshippers are, first, that their own race is "pure" and, second, that this particular "pure" race, to which the worshipper himself happens to belong, is "superior" to all other races. Yet these two notions of a "pure" race and a "superior" race had been decisively discarded by Science before the nineteenth century was over.

Any up-to-date ethnologist will tell you today that there is no extant specimen of a "pure" race to be found - not even among the most primitive peoples in the most secluded nooks. The racial composition of every known living community is mixed; and this racial mixture has proved to be the rule as far back in the past as the paleontological record extends. In fact, there is no warrant for believing that any concrete examples of "pure" races would come to light even if we were vouchsafed a complete series of samples of every historical make-up of the human physique since the time when Mankind

first became recognisably human. Under exact and unprejudiced scientific analysis, racial characteristics resolve themselves into so many variants of the human physique (in the matter of pigmentation or hairiness or smell or skull-formation or facial angle or curve of nostril or slant of eye) which present themselves in different statistical proportions in different communities, but which are nowhere to be found prevailing uniformly and exclusively.

As for the chimaera of the "superior" race, this can be disposed of, in a few strokes, by the historian.

On the one hand, if "superiority" is to be measured positively by achievement in the enterprise of civilisation, it will be found that every known race has made its contribution to some civilisation or other. The Red Race has created the civilisations of Peru and Mexico, and the Yellow Race the civilisations of China and Japan, while the "Dravidian" Brown Race has probably done more than the "Aryan" White Race for the civilisation of India. Even the Black Race seems to have contributed a strain to the population of the Lower Nile Valley, just before the dawn of Civilisation in Egypt; and, supposing that the Black Race's rather tenuous claim to have made a contribution could be convincingly disputed, this would be merely one of those exceptions which prove a rule; for till the other day, the Black Race in Africa has been isolated to an exceptional degree, from the rest of the World, by the barriers of the Schara and the Ocean. It is only since the latter part of the nineteenth century that Black Africa has been exposed to any powerful impact of alien human forces. And who will venture to declare dogmatically in advance, that the Black Race will fail to respond to this unprecedented challenge ? Is it not possible that, under its present tremendous ordeal, this Black Race may catch up in the movement of civilisation, with the other races - whose start of some five or six thousand years is, after all, an infinitesimally short span of time on the time-scale of the life-span of the Genus Homo ? On the showing of the history of civilisations, we can only pronounce that no race has yet proved itself incapable of contributing to the creation of a civilisation; and we shall also be led, by an empirical survey of the history of the geneses of civilisation up to date, to infer that, as a rule, the creation of a civilisation is the work of more races than one.

On the other hand, if the "superiority" of a race is to be measured negatively by the absence, in the contemporary world, of any representatives of such and such a race among the peoples that still remain on the primitive level, then what race today will be found free from the reproach of numbering laggards and morons as well as pioneers and geniuses among its members ? The Hairy Race, for example, is represented by the Blackfellows of Australia and by the Ainus of Japan, as well as by Nordic Man in Europe. The White Race still numbers among its living representatives the Berbers of the Rif and the Atlas, and the Iranians of Kurdistan and the North-West Frontier of India, who remain today on the primitive level above which their white kinsmen in Egypt and Iraq and Crete had already risen in the 4th millennium.B.C. And the present Secretary of State for the Colonies in his Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom personally represents a section of the White Race, inhabiting the northern extremity of Great Britain, which was still standing at the present Berber-Kurdish-Pathan level of culture rather less than two centuries ago.

Thus the theories of racial "purity" and "superiority", which have been invented in order to give a veneer of scientific respectability to tribal race- feeling completely break down under genuine scientific examination. And the extreme vulnerability of these theories is only what was to be expected; for every race-theory

requires, for its very formulation, the assumption of an initial hypothesis which is not only non-proven but which has not even any probability of being found to be correct.

The hypothesis is that there is a fixed correlation between the physical characteristics of a human being, which are visible and measurable, and his spiritual characteristics, which are impalpable and elusive. Every race-theorist defines his own pet "pure superior race" by marks which are wholly physical and external: a snub nose or more woolly hair or a black skin or whatever the theorist's own subjective criterion of physical excellence in the human form may be. But even the most hare-brained race-theorist would not dream of arguing that these external physical characteristics are, in themselves, the constituents of the "superiority" which he confidently claims for their possessors. He tacitly makes the assumption that these physical features are so many outward visible signs of a corresponding set of inward spiritual graces - a black skin being perhaps the hall-mark of intellectuality, a woolly pate of honesty, a snub nose of aesthetic sensibility, and so on. It is in virtue of these supposedly correlated spiritual qualities that the "superiority" of the physical race is asserted and its "purity" prized. The argument, however, is a non sequitur, for Science has no knowledge of the correlation which the race-theorist takes for granted.

We may agree with the race-theorist that there are certain observable differences in human physique, and we may perhaps even accept some of his definitions and classifications. Again, we shall unhesitatingly agree with him that there are certain spiritual virtues and faculties which are possessed and exercised by different human beings in widely differing degrees, and that this spiritual difference is a true criterion of superiority and inferiority as between one human being and another. We shall refuse, however, to follow the race-theorist when he asks us to make the assumption that the presence or absence of the spiritual virtues and faculties which are the true constituents of superiority in human beings is to be inferred - on the strength of a hypothetical correlation between spiritual and physical characteristics - from the presence or absence of certain external physical features. We shall hold to the common-sense view that we may be able to recognise a saint or a hero or a genius by his personality or by his fruits, but that we shall certainly be unable to identify him à priori if our information about him is limited to the figures for his cranial index, facial angle, capillary section and pigmentation-density. We shall persist in the view that these physical data give us no information about the spiritual quality of the human being to whom they refer, and therefore no information about him at all that is of any importance, since Man is a creature whose spiritual side is all-important because it is the unique thing about him which differentiates him from all the other living creatures on the face of this planet to whom he is physically akin.

This last consideration perhaps disposes of the contention that the qualities constituting an alleged "superiority" of race can be still further enhanced - or, if not enhanced, at any rate preserved - by the practice of "Eugenics": that is, by the application to human beings of those methods of selective breeding which, for several thousand years past, have been applied by human beings to plants and to non-human animals with remarkable results. It is manifest that, in the breeding of domesticated animals and plants, human beings have been notably successful in producing, by cumulative selection, the effects that they have been aiming at - and this within an extraordinarily short space of time compared with the aeons which Nature, undirected by human intelligence, seems to require for the work of evolution. By taking thought about these things, we have suc-

ceeded in making sheep so much plumper and fatter and woollier, and apples so much plumper and sweeter and juicier, than their undomesticated "poor relations" that when today we set a prize sheep side by side with a wild sheep, or a prize apple side by side with a wild apple, it is difficult at first sight to recognise that the two sheep and the two apples are respectively members of one and the same species. The latest scientific view seems to be that these extraordinary results have been achieved, not by conferring new qualities upon the species to which the breeder's art has been applied, but simply by bringing out and accentuating certain qualities that the species already possessed, as "recessive" characteristics, in its state of nature. This does not, however, really detract from the merit of the breeder's achievement. The essential point remains that, by applying his methods, he has enhanced certain qualities in the plant or animal which he aimed at enhancing. The results produced by the domestication of plants and animals are thus signal examples of the power which the human intellect is capable of exercising over Nature; and inevitably we are led to ask ourselves whether what has been achieved in the case of plants and non-human animals could not also be applied with equal success to human beings.

In the light of our foregoing discussion, we can now see at once what answer this question will receive. The answer is clearly in the affirmative. By selective breeding, we could undoubtedly produce results of the same order with human beings as we have already produced with sheep and apples - always supposing that we could persuade or compel any men and women to be so docile as to submit their sexual life, without reservation, to the breeder's will. If we may make this political assumption for the sake of the biological argument, then we can certainly affirm, with some assurance, that we should be able to breed Nordic men into becoming as hairy as Ainus and as swarthy as Blackfellows, or alternatively into becoming as beardless as Mongols or as woolly-pated as Bantus. We could take the physical descendants of Atawulf or of "the Fair-Haired Menelaus", and turn them, in a very few generations, into creatures whom no one would suspect of being derived from the genuine Amalung or Pelopid stock. In fact, the twentieth-century Western eugenist is justified in boasting that, if only he were given a free hand, he could make the Ethiopian change his skin and the leopard his spots, and that, by taking thought, he could add a cubit to the Central African Pygmy's stature. This is the immediate answer to our question; but in the act of giving it we perceive that it has a disconcerting corollary.

The eugenic tour de force can be performed upon the Ethiopian and the Pygmy as well as upon the leopard; but in the case of the human, as contrasted with the feline, corpus vile this would be an utterly futile application of intellect to the control of Physical Nature. To change the leopard's spots might be of some commercial advantage to the furriers; for the sole use that we have for the leopard lies in his dappled hide; and if the reigning fashion were to change in the matter of the mottlings on women's leopard-skin coats, then it might conceivably be worth money to the furriers to pay a breeder to change the leopard's spots accordingly. But who would pay anybody to change the Ethiopian's skin in the expectation that the Ethiopian would become a more valuable person as a consequence of this external physical metamorphosis. It would not be a paying proposition *, because the Ethiopian's skin is not the asset that gives him his value. The human hide, unlike the feline, is destitute of fur; and, even if all that we want is naked leather, pig-skin isboth better and cheaper than human skin for our purpose.

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*It is true, of course, that the Ethiopian himself might beinduced to pay a stiff price for a change of skin in countries where his colour is a social stigma. As it is, the Ethiopianess in North America does pay large sums for the straightening of her hair.

The truth is that our human physique is poor stuff all round. Physically Man, by comparison with other animals, is naked, weak, small, slow and short-lived: naked compared with the eider-duck, weak compared with the ox, small compared with the whale, slow compared with the rabbit, short-lived compared with the carp. If his physique were all that there was to him, he would long ago have gone the way of the archaeopteryx and the dodo. By the grace of God, however, Man has a spiritual value which, on this Earth, is unique. The value of the Ethiopian lies not in the colour of his skinbut in the quality of his character and his intellect. But who will be so credulous as to believe that, by bleaching the Ethiopian's skin, you will be automatically endowing him with the soul either of a Nero or of a Saint Francis ? The breeder may play his tricks upon the human race if he gets the chance; but if his purpose is to get value for his pains - as it has been the purpose of the breeders of apples and sheep - then he is chasing a will-o'- the wisp; for the implied analogy between the breeding of apples and sheep and the breeding of human beings is wholly misleading. The selective breeding of plants and non-human animals has been a successful enterprise because the physical methods employed have been used, quite rationally, for the purpose of obtaining physical results. To apply the same physical methods to human beings in the hope of obtaining spiritual results is as egregiously unscientific a procedure as the discredited performancesof Astrology and Alchemy; and since, in Man, it is only spiritual results that are of any appreciable value, the failure to establish a correlation between physical and spiritual characteristics would appear to reduce almost to vanishing point the claim of Eugenics to be able to improve Human Nature.

In fine, the genuine modern Western scientific discoveries, such as they are, in the field of Race and Eugenics show no cause for abandoning or even modifying that conception of Man and his relation to God which is taught by Christianity and which is also common ground between Christianity and the other transcendental religions that are either forerunners of Christianity or approximations to it- We may accept the genuine results of disinterested scientific thought without ceasing to believe that the ultimate destiny of Man is foreshadowed in the spiritual and not in the physical side of his nature; that the difference between one human soul and another in its degree of spiritual excellence is in no way correlated with any difference between one human body and another in points of physique; and that, while the spiritual difference between soul and soul is always momentous and often profound, there is no soul, however sinful or degraded, which is inexorably doomed to be cast out from the spiritual brotherhood in which all men are united through the common fatherhood of God.

These truths which have been revealed to Mankind on Earth in the course of the first two or three thousand years are not impugned by the pseudo-scientific race-theories that have been manufactured in our generation in order to give a semblance of intellectual justification to a revival of race-feeling. At the same time, the feeling which the theories reflect has to be taken very seriously, because it arises from a resurgence of that tribe-worship which is the primitive religion of Mankind and which has never yet been completely driven off the field by the higher revelation that has been given to us so short a time ago. The battle between the two religions - a battle which was joined as soon as the transcendental religion appeared - has still to be won, and we, in our generation, have been born into as critical a phase of the struggle as any that has gone before. The post in which we find ourselves is one of equal honour and responsibility and peril; and the consciousness of our position andour rôle should give us heart and strength to hold and extend the ground which prophets, saints and martyrs have won in generations past.